1: Burrows--172-173 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 775 Ifalik

"Another account of life after death seems inconsistent with this one of ghosts haunting the places they frequented in their former life. It is said that the soul of every human being, after death, sets out for the sky, along a road for ghosts. The people of Ifalik do not name a series of earthly points along this road, as those of some Pacific islands do. Names of two dangerous places along the road were mentioned in a song, and there may be more. One is Rourou, a lake of fresh water into which evil spirits throw the new ghosts, if they catch them. Those cast into Rourou are never heard of again. Others are similarly disposed of in Piseram, a dismal place a good deal like a taro swamp. The main hope of escape is in guidance or rescue by more experienced friendly ghosts, who on earth were relatives of the newly dead. Even when a ghost succeeds in reaching the sky, he may not be happy there. All depends on whether he falls in with friendly or malicious companions. [173]

The celestial geography is elusive and shifty. The region most clearly mentioned is the southern sky, but there is some mention also of the northern sky and the zenith. Islands are scattered up there as on earth, among sea spaces, which are traversed by the canoes of the gods. Two such islands are named in the myth of Galét: Ulimatau (also recorded as Ulimatol), home of Galét and his associates; and Ururio or Ruialo, home of Virár, who made off with Galét's wife and took her there. The home of TIlItr is said to be in Lengililo or Langiliol. (The names of these sky-islands seem to shift about as much as their location.)"

1: Burrows--173 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 775, 823 Ifalik

"Tom said that the gods of navigation live in a part of the sky reserved for them, but did not give it a name. Since Virár is one of these gods, it might be inferred that this place is Ururio (Ruialo), named as his home. Yet the myths about seamanship are set largely in Bwennap, which seems identifiable with the earthly island Pulap (p. 163). Longolap and LongorIk travelled from there to Pie li Eluluei (Sands of Aluluei). Pie li Eluluei resembles Bwennap (but not Pulap) in having only sand and one tree above ground, but a large and populous place below, abounding in all food-producing plants. Sarfert-Damm name another residence of Aluluei - the island Piemal, three months' journey by canoe to the south of Ifalik.

Naturally, the gods of navigation were accomplished travelers. Aluluei went from Bwennap to the strangely similar Pie li Eluluei by magic. Valur and his brother Wëriëng went by canoe from Bwennap to Truk; and Valur, after he changed his name to Sagol, visited Ifalik and all the islands about. Since the canoes of these gods roam the skies as well as the seas, there is no great difficulty in supposing that they could take off from one medium to the other, like a sea-plane. Nevertheless, the information at hand does not enable us to plot the celestial islands on a chart."

2: Damm et al.--92-93 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 775 Ifaluk

The souls of the dead (noli) * stay in the air; the natives do not have a world of the dead, as the Bur people do. * The noli can wander around the earth invisible [93], or they go through the air like a wind. Lugeilan or Aluelöb is the ruler of these souls of the dead.

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* The following native words are given to complete this: shadow - nuru, name - idäl.

* According to Sarfert, Lugedad is also unknown; but people speak of him as a spirit of the Mogemog islanders.

2; Damm et al. --143 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 775 Aurupik

The kingdom of the dead. The dead wander around as invisible spirits (allüs); they can stay on earth or fly through the air like wind. There are no other conceptions, such as you find on Bur, Merir and Songosor. Lugelan is king of the living and of the dead.

2: Damm et al. --197-198 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 775 Faraulep

Then the good woman Marán (moon) also lives in the heavens. She would like to have everyone live, and it is she who lets children be born. Her opposite is Nigeseges, who lives in the sky too. She is bad, and lets [198] people die. If anyone on earth has committed a crime, Alüelap tells Nigeseges to have him die. But Maram opposes this, and says: Se ma! (do not die!). The men die, but they all become little children, and grow up again, so they do not really perish. (Here we seem to be pretty close to the belief in immortality). In olden days people did not die. But when Alüelap saw how many things they had already accomplished since they were created, and how many things they had made which he did not even have in heaven, he told Nigeseges to let them die.

2: Damm et al. --198-199 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 775 Faraulep

Kingdom of the dead, and conception of the soul.
The souls of the dead (faga bŭobu) go up to Alüelăp in the heavens; those of good men enter the fatšumăl, while the bad souls are taken into the fire (iăf), which burns at a considerable distance from Alüelăp's house. After two months they are removed from the fire, and sent back to earth, where they roam around in the air as spirits, and trouble the reefs, the ocean and the thicket. [199] (good spirit - eakatjŭ, bad spirit - eanăne). Then they appear to various people in dreams, and bring them good or bad news. Generally they show themselves to a chief, who thereupon executes the orders of the deceased. Frequently the spirit also enters an ordinary man, who then utters a kind of prophecy (kifini). In 1909 there were no more of these people, because the proper magic charm had perished with the last one of them.

4: Krämer--119 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 775, 764 Lamotrek

Unless a dead person has a burial hut his spirit roams about at night roaring and howling and scaring the living.

4: Krämer--151 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 775 Elato

Hambruch learned on Elato that the souls ascend to heaven by a ladder which stands in the west where heaven and earth touch.

Punishment of humans is controlled by the three brothers Elúelap, Zaulal, and Zauaur ...and depends on the degree of evil.

In Bolipes, the place of the damned, no one needs to guard the souls. Ururulang and his assistants take them there. Underneath the sleeping mat of Elúelap there is a hole in the celestial building of Fádjamal and through it they slide down into the realm of Zaulal.

17: Meinicke--377
116, 764, 775, 565

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Woleai

In Ulie it is the custom to burn the corpse after exposure and to place the ashes in a canoe on the roof of the dead man's house. Common people on the contrary are laid on rafts or in little canoes and handed over to the sea whose tide leads them into the underworld;

"Autran, the daughter of Legobub, created man, that is the Caroline people. The natives have as yet not explained the creation of the other peoples whom they have met since contact. Her method of creation is unknown though she is referred to as the mother of the people. The chiefs say that only the chiefs of Gachepar in Yap, and the chiefs of Mogmog in Ulithi know the details of the creation. The Ifaluk chiefs do know, however, that the people of Yap were created first, after which Autran created the Ulithians and then the Ifalukians, which is why Yap is the first ranking island in the Western Carolines After creating man, Autran retired to the atmosphere, where she now lives, though her house, Lamoru, still remains in Gachepar, and the tribute that is offered to Yap, is brought to her house, and is really for her, though it is given to the chiefs. (3)

Man originally was immortal, and only later became mortal, (And here we have the chief's version of the story told above by Arogeligar). After Autran had created the Caroline people, Legbrielnialel and Ligesges were assigned to guard the path taken by the souls of the dead as they ascended to the sky. When the soul arrived Legubrielnialel would say: 'He dies, dies, he dies like the moon'. (Imaiam imalia lualang.) That is, man does not really die, but merely waxes and wanes like the phases of the moon. Upon

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"3. [See following sheet for footnote 3]"

28: Spiro--47-48 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 773, 775 Ifalik

"3. [Footnote p. 47] Arogeligar told me a different Creation myth. It is not a different version, but an entirely different story. This myth was told him by his maternal grandmother. The significance of the myth in terms of acculturation will be obvious.

After creating the land, Aluelap descended to the earth, --exactly where, he does not know--and from one of his own ribs, created one man and one woman. After a time, they had some children, and soon the various islands were populated. These early people ate no food, wore no clothes, nor did any kind of work. However, 'by'n by, Aluelap say, "what's the matter, I give that my rib, I no give chow? by'n by no more people' (that is they will die of starvation). He give them chow; they chow. No have lavalava, they am very ashamed. Aluelap give them chow, they savvy everything--how to make lavalava, chow, work, everything. Aluelap tell that snake: "You go on tree, you call man and woman, they come to chow. I make people, they no savvy work, shame, chow. More better you call that people, they eat that fruit, they savvy. "They eat two piece that fruit; they see they have no clothes; they see that penis and that vagina. They am very ashamed, they run between tree.'

This is obviously the Genesis myth. It most probably was learned by one of the natives on Yap, from a missionary, or perhaps on Guam, from which it was diffused through various channels, coming to Arogeligar's mother. He presented it, of course, as a

native story, which in his mind was preliminary to a native myth he proceeded to tell, but which turned out to be a variant of a myth I later collected from the chiefs, and which, in their version was not a creation myth at all. It is to be noted that though Aluelap had already created mortals, and they had populated the world, Ifaluk was as yet uninhabited. Aluelap told two of the women inhabitants of the sky, Legubrielnialel and Ligesges, to descend to Ifaluk. The former was very wise ('she savvy everything') while the latter was stupid ('she fool fellow'). Aluelap had given Legubrielnialel the power to have anything she wished for. Thus she had only to wish for a house, or cooked food, and it was hers. One day she wished for two men, and they appeared. The men and the two women copulated and populated the island. The people had no need for industries of any kind, since their wants were provided for by Legbuielnialel. One day, however, the women had a quarrel, and Legubrielnialel in her anger departed from Ifaluk and traveled to 'Europe' where she settled. Thus 'Europe' benefited by her wisdom, and soon became as wise as she, whereas Ifaluk was left with the stupid Ligesges, and remained in ignorance, knowing neither taro, breadfruit, or fish, nor fire. They did have clothes however, and they ate coconuts.

It is quite obvious that part of this story, at any rate, originated after contact or was reinterpreted as an ex post facto explanation of 'Europe's technological superiority over Ifaluk." [48]

hearing this, the soul would return to the earth, and mankind remained immortal.

However, at the same time that Legubrielnialel was declaring man's immorality, Ligesges would address the soul with these words: 'He dies, he really dies' (Imaima manigesges). Eventually the souls of the dead believed her words and did not attempt to return to the earth, and thus death became permanent. (3)" [sic]

"3. After Arogeligar had told me his version of the creation story, I asked him the cause of the quarrel of Legubrielnialel and Ligesges and he told me the above story of the chiefs, except that in his version the rival conceptions of death were the cause of a quarrel these two women had had while living on Ifaluk, and did not have the profound consequences for mankind that the chiefs' version has.

Arogeligar explains mortality much more prosaically. Aluelap had created man immortal. But after a time an inhabitant of the sky pointed out to him: 'Very bad that. People no die. By'n by no enough chow, for too many people. More better people die.' Aluelap saw the the wisdom of this insight and created death. Thus Malthus' theory of the disproportionate rate of increase of food and population was discovered--independently by a 'stone-age savage.'"

"The souls of the good are directed to Langalian, the abode of the alusisalup, which is at the zenith, near Fatima, the home of the alusiang. (11) The souls of the bad are directed to Pungulon or Langalgezepelach, the names given by the chiefs and by Arogeligar, respectively.

Though it is the soul that ascends to the sky, and the body is buried in the ocean, the alus are corporeal, though it is not clear at all whether they resume their earthly bodies, or acquire different ones. But it is known that they are corporeal because people have seen the alusengau on their visits to Ifaluk, and those people possessed by the aluisalap have perceived them in human form.

Both alus, the good and the bad alike, lead lives in the sky that parallel their lives on earth, with the one difference that biological families do not remain together (even

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"11. The alusisalu also have an abode in the nether-world of Solan, called Gelangas, but this need not detain us, since no one, not even the chiefs, knows anything about this abode, except the name."

assuming that all the members of the family become one or other of the two kinds of alus) but each repairs to the special abode of his clan, each clan having its own habitation. Spouses are not rejoined at death, but marry another person. Otherwise, their lives are the same, performing their same functions--they work, eat, copulate, and so forth."

28: Spiro--56-57
116, 775, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1 4
Ifalik

"There is a third category of alusengau, whose conceptualization is a point of disagreement between the chiefs and Arogeligar. Both agree that these are not the malevolent souls of the dead, that they originated independently, but that their creation is unknown. Arogeligar calls them alusefalu, literally, the alus of the ground or of the earth, who may take the form of pigs, dogs, or sparks. (15) The chiefs, on the other hand, termed them alusliol, and say that they inhabit the trees in the bush. Alusefalu, they claim, is the name of the chief of these alusliol. They also claim that should a person disobey the chiefs, or evade participation in communal work by remaining in the bush, these alus will cause him to become ill.

Aside from this minor disagreement, everyone agrees that all these alusengau have one primary aim--to cause illness. The alusengau are intrinsically evil, and delight in going bad, in causing illness. They cause illness indiscriminately, so that both the good and the evil suffer from their malevolence. These alus have a chief (16) who

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"15. Since neither pigs nor dogs are indigenous animals, this conception must be very recent.

16. His name is unknown, and it is well that it is. For if the people knew his name, they might call upon him unwittingly for medicine (confusing him with an alusemar) and instead of sending medicine he would send illness."

constantly incites his malevolent cohorts to make the people ill--for 'he only like bad', not that the others need his incitations, since they are all vicious, evil creatures, whose sole delight is in harming people by making them ill.

But the alusengau not only cause illness, they also 'give people bad', that is, they give people fight, steal, gossip. If no alus, people no do bad.' In other words, people are intrinsically good, and do evil only because of an external principle, a power or force outside of their own characters and personalities, who, as it were, controls them and leads them to evil deeds. Now, it is patent that we have a contradiction at this point. All evil is caused by the alusengau, since people themselves are intrinsically good. But at the creation of man there were no alusengau, and if the people are basically good, how did evil arise in the first place, since there were no alusengau in existence to incite it? This contradiction was answered by Arogeligar by referring to his story of Ligesges and Legubrielnialel. When the latter departed from Ifaluk, Ligesges no longer followed in her good ways, but began to do evil, and others followed her example. This, however,

is an ad hoc interpretation, for actually these internal contradictions do not disturb the natives. They are not interested in Systematic Theology. (17)

There is another major contradiction inherent in this scheme, which serves to indicate how powerful the alusengau are taken to be. It is Aluelap who decides when a man is to die, with the agreement, according to one version of Solan. Yet the illness caused by the alusengau is usually fatal, and the victim dies, though not with the agreement of Aluelap, thus the alusengau are seen to be more powerful [57] than the high god himself. Arogeligar to whom I put this question answered by use of analogy. Just as some humans disobey the cheifs, so the alusengau may disobey Aluelap, a weak argument indeed. Again, however, I am not interested at this in the logic of the view, but in indicating how malicious and powerful these alus are conceived to be by the natives.

"17. The linguist will be interested in a bit of folk etymology. Tom pointed out, in the midst of this discussion, that the rat (ges) is named after Ligesges, because the rat steals food, which is the first crime she perpetrated."

28: Spiro--56-57
116, 775, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-4
Ifalik

It is to be remembered that nowhere in this system is there the western belief in reward and punishment. Life in the sky is but a persistence of this life, and the infliction of illness by an alus falls indiscriminately on good and bad alike. The concept of retribution is entirely foreign to native thought, so that when I asked why a man should do good since the alus will destroy both the good and the bad, my question was incomprehensible. Communication had ceased at that point, since the implied conclusion of my question was a complete non sequitir to the natives."

28: Spiro--57
116, 775, 825

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The alusengau, it might be added, are also responsible for all dangerous and noxious creatures--they created the flies, mosquitos, sharks, etc."

28: Spiro--137 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 761, 775 Ifalik

"Though old age is experience differentially, there is no dispute about death. Death is not welcomed, despite the native eschatology, which assures every one of continued life after death. Any attempt to obtain direct attitudes on death are, of course, a waste of time, since the responses would reveal only superficial, rational attitudes, rather than the deep seated, emotional feelings. The few individuals to whom I put the question, however, responded with: people are afraid to die, because they no longer remain in Ifaluk, and are consequently separated from their families."

28: Spiro--138 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 775 Ifalik

"At death the soul leaves the body through the mouth, and becomes an alus."

28: Spiro--142-143
116, 765, 775, 855

(1947-48) 1949

Wqleaians-1
Ifalik

"The behavior of the people following the burial is extremely interesting because of a seeming paradox. The paradox was obvious from the first death that I witnessed, and the same pattern was repeated in the other four deaths, and in each case my field notes remark on the phenomenon, though with different possible interpretations. I refer to the great discrepancy between the intense wailing prior to, and immediately following death, and the apparent lack of mourning and seeming forgetting of the person after death. The same person who indulges in the intense wailing, scratching of face and chest, and indulging in what seems like almost pure hysterical behavior, will, after the burial, revert to his normal personality, smiling, laughing and joking with no signs of bereavement. One would superficially say that this shows that the people do not really love their kin, and the wailing at the funeral is entirely formal and stylized. But this answer would be far from the truth. Despite the patterned nature of the mourning, the feelings felt are genuine. There is no question about the intense feelings of Arivimae, who burned his mother's house, or of Navor's husband. Yet, despite their acute suffering, they too showed no evidence of mourning or acute suffering even a couple of days after the burial. After the four day mourning period, they were in the canoe houses, laughing and joking, interested in the daily events, and eating heartily. The men had returned from fishing, and Navor's husband was intensely interested in the fish he was about to eat, displaying

a remarkable appetite for a man in sorrow.

But the problem goes even deeper. The people are vitally concerned about the recovery of an ill person. They will, and do, sacrifice energy, time, wealth, to ensure his recovery. Maroligar, and Wetriliar, for example, the maternal uncle and brother-in law, respectively, of Navor, did everything in their powers to save her when she was ill. They conducted rituals, they made medicine, they literally devoted their entire day for a period of at least a month, when she was critically ill, to her service. When they saw that she could not be helped and that she was going to die, they were deeply crushed. Their mental suffering was obvious to anyone. But immediately after the burial, the very same day, they were laughing and smiling, giving no evidence of any mourning. It is as if the deceased is completely forgotten, as if he never existed, and life goes on. In fact during the official mourning period, Maroligar spent his days playing cards with the young men.

Now to us this may seem callous. This is another indication, some might say, of the primitive' lack of sensibility. But, such an interpretation would be false and merely display a narrow ethnocentrism. That the people love each other deeply is shown throughout this entire monograph. It is true, of course, that the love applies only to the living not to the dead. And in a small society, such as Ifaluk, reality dictates the necessity of such behavior. Since all the people interract with great intimacy, and the relationship

between them is very close, the culture would collapse if mourning were long and protracted, and the people let themselves be overwhelmed by death. Intense suffering would incapacitate them, they could not do their work, and the results would be disastrous. Instead, the mourning is brief, but intensely acute, a real catharsis is experienced, and then life continues.

But the reality situation alone cannot explain this phenomenon. People do not or cannot always adjust to the demands of reality. Furthermore, what must be explained here is not the overt behavior but the psychological experience. The people could conceivably return to their normal living, but still suffer. What accounts for the seeming abrupt end of the psychological mourning? As far as I can see, there [143] are only two conceivable reasons. First, there is the belief in the continued existence of the soul. The person is not extinguished, his existence continues, but in another form, and there is some communication with him. This answer, however, is not adequate since the same belief obtains in other societies, and the reaction to death is not the same. Another answer suggests itself, which we shall point to only briefly here, and examine its implications and ramifications in the section on personality. The growing child, it will be remembered, forms no exclusive emotional attachments. He is surrounded by many adults, many of whom play as important roles in his life as his own parents. This means that the emotional cathexis of the individual are not intense, but are distributed over a number of

people. This means that though the indivdual feels a loss at the death of a loved one, this loss is not as a severe drainage of one's own ego since there are numerous other individuals for whom the individual feels similar attachments. In a society in which individuals form exclusive emotional cathesis, death means a serious drainage of one's own narcisstic supplies, since the identification has been intense, and the other's extinction is felt as one's own. But there the cathexis are diffuse, the loss of one is not severe, since the person has established many other identifications and they continue after the death of any one. This means, to employ a figure that though one psychological tentacle has lost its object, the others still cling to theirs."

29: Spiro--193-194 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 775

"October 22, 1947. Today, while Tom and I were conducting some research, Tarev came to me to complain about his prob-[194] lems. It seems that the previous night people had tried to fight with him and kill him. He did not know who they were. He then said that he hears voices from Woleae (an atoll about thirty miles to the west of Ifaluk). When I questioned him, he replied that the voices were those of his (dead) wife, who was complaining to the chiefs of Woleae that he (Tarev) was incompetent and unable to work. The chiefs in turn told Tarev that he should be good. He then said that he had not eaten for two days and had sustained himself by drinking coconut juice. He explained, when I asked, that there was an alus on his head who did not want him to eat. I asked him if the alus were still there, and he said that it had left him. Unfortunately, I had an appointment, so I had to take my leave." I told him to go home and eat, and he promised that he would."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Katelu where Maur's spirit lingered; there was a tiny, thatched "god house" in the Valul household area on Falalap; and an immaculate, sanded circular altar as part of the Weluar household area. We called Arueligar the "high priest" because he had the highest ecclesiastical authority on the island, officiating at the few religious ceremonies we observed. Husky, handsome Truesai was his designated successor.

Ted, both in 1948 and in 1953, devoted much time to collecting notes on religious beliefs. He felt that these beliefs were steadily weakening, that he could notice a difference in this respect between his 1948 and 1953 visits. The gods, however, were still with us in 1953; alus, spirits, who haunted certain places, governed various natural events, and interfered for good or evil in the affairs of men. Ted collected a list of nine high gods, and of dozens of lesser spirits. He found, for instance, twenty-seven different alus concerned with different matters in connection with navigation and canoe building—though these, to be sure, are basic activities, much subject to divine guidance in any maritime culture.

My impression, however, based mostly on Ted's writings, notes and comments, is that the Ifalukians were far from having an organized theology. The accounts of divine affairs that Ted got from Arueligar and from the chiefs did not always agree; and most people apparently gave little thought to such matters, leaving them to the chiefs and the specialists. The alus were present, all right, but accepted as a part of the natural order of things: the spirits that every folk find in the world around them.

The vast majority of the alus were spirits of the dead. No one died while I was on Ifaluk, but Ted and Mel Spiro observed four deaths during their 1948 stay. They have described these in their book on Ifaluk: the intense preoccupation on the part of friends and relatives with trying to save a seriously ill person by every natural or supernatural means, the nightly wailing chants, the great seriousness surrounding possible death, and the abrupt relaxation of this seriousness once death has occurred, once the alus has left the body. They ascribe this attitude to the firm belief in the continuity of the soul.

The body of the dead, however, is given ceremonial treatment: the face is painted red, a new loin-cloth or skirt is put on, and then the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the